

became involved in a war with Great Britain and needed the assistance of the United States; but the United States failed to give that aid, failed to loan money in accordance with that treaty.

Thereupon the French Government seized the ships of American shipowners on the theory that this Government had failed to live up to its treaty of 1778. In 1800 the American Government made a treaty with France, agreeing that this Government would pay the shipowners the value of their ships which had been taken by France in consideration of the French Government releasing the United States from all claims arising from its violation of the treaty of 1778, when this Government failed to come to the aid of France.

As a result, there is now pending in the Congress a bill, Senate bill 3173, providing that this Government shall appropriate \$3,910,000 to settle the so-called French spoliation claims. The justice of the French claims has been admitted by former Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes and the present Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.

Mr. President, I bring these facts to the attention of the Senate because from their consideration we can get some light or guidance, perhaps, which will aid us in deciding what we shall do in the troublesome days which are ahead. If Washington felt in his day that it was sufficiently important, in order to keep this country out of war, realizing that we were set apart, as it were, even to fail to pay an obligation that was due France, we should think twice before we involve 130,000,000 people in war by any act of ours, whether it be in the East, where we might slap one nation in the face, or in Europe, violating international law.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in view of the fact that no one in this country is now attempting to get us into war, I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned to Monday, February 26, 1940, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1940

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Samuel W. Moore, formerly pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Bluefield, W. Va., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Father in heaven, our Divine Creator and Redeemer, Thou hast been our help in ages past; Thou art our present help and our hope for years to come. We bow before Thee in holy worship, and we seek Thy blessing. We give thanks to Thee for Thy many mercies and blessings to us. We thank Thee for this good land in which we dwell and the beneficent Government under which we live and have our freedom and enjoy the pursuit of happiness. Thou art the giver of every good and perfect gift, and we acknowledge Thy hand of love in the blessings that come to us.

On this anniversary of the birth of our first great President, help us, we beseech Thee, to recall his unselfish life, the great sacrifices he made, the hardships he endured, the great service he rendered in winning our independence and establishing our Government, his high sense of honor and integrity; and may we from these memories gather fresh courage and inspiration to live more worthily and to serve more faithfully.

Bless, we beseech Thee, the President of these United States and all who are associated with him in authority. We pray for Thy guidance especially for our Secretary of State and our Foreign Relations Committee in this time of such disturbed and complicated international relations. Give wisdom to them, we beseech Thee, O God. Let Thy blessing, we pray Thee, be upon the ambassadors of the various nations of the earth gathered here in our Capital. May they find here that spirit of understanding, that high sense of honor and integrity, that spirit of the good neighbor on our part that will best help them to direct the affairs of their nations

and to serve mankind. Let Thy blessing, we beseech Thee, be upon the Congress here assembled. Bless these our Representatives as they enact laws for our Nation. Help them to be deeply conscious of Thy presence, and put into their hearts to do that which will be for the best interests of all the peoples, we pray.

Let Thy blessing be upon all the people of our land. Send peace and plenty to them we beseech Thee.

Restrain, we beseech Thee O God, the nations that are at war, and put it into their hearts to end, and that right speedily, the terrible destruction of human life and property, and all the suffering that comes with them. Grant, O God, that there may be peace on earth and good will toward men.

Hear the prayer Thy servant has taught us:

"O God of love, O King of peace,
Make wars throughout the world to cease;
The wrath of sinful man restrain;
Give peace, O God, give peace again!"

"Remember, Lord, Thy works of old,
The wonders that our fathers told;
Remember not our sin's dark stain;
Give peace, O God, give peace again!"

"Whom shall we trust but Thee O Lord?
Where rest but on Thy faithful word?
None ever called on Thee in vain;
Give peace, O God, give peace again!"

"Where saints and angels dwell above,
All hearts are knit in holy love;
O bind us in that heavenly chain;
Give peace, O God, give peace again!"

We make our prayer in the name of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] for 1 minute.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, it has been announced many times that there would be nothing today but the reading of Washington's Farewell Address. I trust, therefore, that no unanimous-consent requests will be made, because I shall be constrained to object.

The SPEAKER. Under a special order of the House heretofore made, the Chair takes pleasure in presenting to the House Representative CROWTHER, of the State of New York, who will read George Washington's Farewell Address.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, there is depicted in the famous oil painting of Henry Hintermeister the taking of the oath by the Father of his Country on the balcony before the Senate Chamber in Federal Hall in New York City. The date was April 30, 1789. He was surrounded by his companions in arms and his closest friends. The portraits in that painting are John Adams, Vice President; Gen. Henry Knox; Baron Steuben; Alexander Hamilton; James Madison, known as the father of the Constitution; Roger Sherman; and Robert R. Livingston, the chancellor of New York, who administered the oath to the President.

Mr. Speaker, as I represent a very small portion of that Empire State, I esteem highly the privilege, and I appreciate the courtesy on your part in extending to me the privilege of reading this address.

To the people of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I

have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recom-

mending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or

manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however

strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn

manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who

should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted

by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by

interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice

and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,
19th September, 1796.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Minnesota rise?

Mr. ALEXANDER. May I ask the majority leader of the House if he does not feel it would be wise for Members to be allowed to insert articles in today's RECORD regarding George Washington?

Mr. RAYBURN. If the remarks are with regard to George Washington, I have no objection.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article regarding George Washington.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, February 23, 1940, at 11 a. m.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting on Friday, February 23, 1940, at 10 a. m., before the petroleum subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Industry will be heard.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold hearings at 10 a. m. on the following dates on the matters named:

Friday, February 23, 1940:

H. R. 7639, to provide for the examination of civilian nautical schools and for the inspection of vessels used in connection therewith, and for other purposes.

Tuesday, March 12, 1940:

H. R. 5476, to create the Alaska Fisheries Commission, and for other purposes.

H. R. 6690, making further provision for the protection of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.

H. R. 7542, to amend section 6 of an act of Congress entitled "An act for the protection of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved June 6, 1924.

H. R. 7987, to amend section 1 of the act of June 6, 1924, as amended, relative to the fisheries of Alaska.

H. R. 7988, making provision for employment of the residents of Alaska in the fisheries of said Territory, and for other purposes.

H. R. 8115, making provision for employment of residents of Alaska only in the salmon fishery of the Bristol Bay area, Alaska, during the year 1940.

H. R. 8172, to amend section 5 of the act of Congress approved June 26, 1906, relative to the Alaska salmon fishery.

Tuesday, March 19, 1940:

H. R. 6136, to amend the act entitled "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1911 (36 Stat. 1353; 34 U. S. C. 1122), so as to authorize an appropriation of \$50,000 annually to aid in the maintenance and support of marine schools.

H. R. 7094, to authorize the United States Maritime Commission to construct or acquire vessels to be furnished the States of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and California for the benefit of their respective nautical schools, and for other purposes.

H. R. 7870, to extend the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1911, to include Astoria, Oreg.

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

The Committee on Roads will resume hearings at 10 a. m. Monday, February 26, on H. R. 7891, to assist the States in the improvement of highways, when the United States Commissioner of Public Roads will be heard.

COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

Beginning Tuesday, February 27, 1940, the Committee on the Census will hold hearings at 10 a. m. in room 213, House Office Building, on the reapportionment of Representatives in Congress.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

On Wednesday, February 28, 1940, at 10 a. m. there will be continued before Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on the Judiciary public hearings on the following bills:

H. R. 3331 and S. 1032, to amend the act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States," and for other purposes; and

H. R. 6395, to extend the provisions of the act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1936, to certain contracts carried out with the aid of Federal funds.

The hearings will be held in room 346, House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

The Committee on Patents, House of Representatives, will hold hearings Thursday, March 14, 1940, at 10:30 a. m., on H. R. 8445, to protect the United States in patent-infringement suits. H. R. 8445 is a substitute for H. R. 6877.

The Committee on Patents will hold hearings Thursday, March 21, 1940, at 10:30 a. m., on S. 2689, to amend section 33 of the Copyright Act of March 4, 1909, relating to unlawful importation of copyrighted works.

COMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Flood Control on Friday, February 23, 1940, at 10 a. m., to consider House resolutions and preliminary plans for a flood-control bill during the session.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1406. A letter from the acting president, Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of four proposed joint resolutions relating to the inauguration of the President-elect in January 1941; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1407. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report showing the name, address, and amount of payment of each person receiving \$1,000 or more under the 1937 programs administered under the provisions of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 8608. A bill authorizing a survey of the rates of compensation paid to certain civilian employees of the Army for the purpose of establishing uniform and equitable rates; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CROSSER:

H. R. 8609. A bill to provide for the return to employees of contributions paid by them under unemployment compensation laws, and to make funds available therefor; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

H. R. 8610. A bill to provide for the erection of a memorial to William Edgar Borah; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. SUTPHIN:

H. R. 8611. A bill to provide for the preservation of the birthplace of Joyce Kilmer, New Brunswick, Middlesex County, N. J.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 8612. A bill to authorize the United States Maritime Commission to construct or acquire vessels to be furnished the States of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and California for the benefit of their respective nautical schools, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 8613. A bill to amend the act to provide for the retirement of disabled nurses of the Army and the Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOOD:

H. R. 8614. A bill to extend the civil-service laws to certain special-delivery messengers; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

H. R. 8615. A bill to provide for employment, for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States in relieving the hardships and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 8619. A bill to amend Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part III, entitled "Payment of pension for disabilities or death not the result of service"; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 8620. A bill to provide for credit of internal-revenue tax paid on certain cereal beverages; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAMSPECK:

H. R. 8621 (by request). A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act and other retirement acts; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. D'ALESSANDRO:

H. R. 8622. A bill to extend further time for naturalization to alien veterans of the World War under the act approved May 25, 1932 (47 Stat. 165), to extend the same privileges to certain veterans of countries allied with the United States during the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. THOMAS F. FORD:

H. R. 8623. A bill to establish a permanent industrial loan corporation to assist financing institutions in making credit available to commercial and industrial enterprises; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 8624. A bill to amend section 3 of the Fair Labor Standards Act; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. R. 8625. A bill to amend section 5, chapter 311, Statutes at Large, volume 38, approved September 26, 1914, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. COLE of Maryland:

H. R. 8626. A bill for the relief of persons suffering injuries due to the establishment, maintenance, and operation by the United States of the Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland for the test of explosive and other dangerous instruments of war; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GARRETT:

H. R. 8627. A bill to grant veterans judicial review against the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. PIERCE:

H. R. 8628. A bill to amend the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, 1930, as amended, to include as a perishable agricultural commodity cherries in brine, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WALLGREN:

H. R. 8629. A bill to provide for exercising the right with respect to red-cedar shingles reserved in the trade agreement concluded November 17, 1938, between the United States of America and Canada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H. R. 8630. A bill to provide for the retirement of certain enlisted men of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SOUTH:

H. R. 8631. A bill to establish a domiciliary unit at the United States Veterans' Administration facility at Legion, Tex.; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H. R. 8638. A bill to amend section 12B of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 8639. A bill to change the name of a portion of Twenty-fourth Street NW. to Williamsburg Lane; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. R. 8640. A bill limiting the working hours of certain employees in the Postal Service to 8 hours in a day of 9 consecutive hours; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. J. Res. 464. Joint resolution relating to ownership of stocks and bonds of industrial, railroad, mining, banking, shipping, oil, and other corporations, firms, and partnerships by Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America and by employees of the Federal Government and their relation to such corporations and firms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. J. Res. 465. Joint resolution authorizing the granting of permits to the Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies on the occasion of the inauguration of the President-elect in January 1941, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. J. Res. 466. Joint resolution to provide for the maintenance of public order and the protection of life and property in connection with the Presidential inaugural ceremonies of 1941; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. J. Res. 467. Joint resolution to exempt from the tax on admissions amounts paid for admission tickets sold by authority of the Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies on the

occasion of the inauguration of the President-elect in January 1941; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. J. Res. 468. Joint resolution to provide for the quartering, in certain public buildings in the District of Columbia, of troops participating in the inaugural ceremonies; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. J. Res. 469. Joint resolution creating a civilian commission to investigate the national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. J. Res. 470. Joint resolution to authorize the appropriation of an additional sum of \$425,000 for Federal participation in the New York World's Fair 1940; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FLANNERY:

H. J. Res. 471. Joint resolution for the relief of the anguished, stricken, and starving population of war-torn and martyred Poland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. Res. 390. Resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 8026, a bill to establish the composition of the United States Navy, to authorize the construction of certain naval vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MAAS:

H. Res. 391. Resolution directing the Secretary of State to submit all information concerning American merchant ships and airplanes, by name, that have been stopped by belligerents since September 1, 1939; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SHERIDAN:

H. Res. 392. Resolution authorizing an investigation of small-loan companies; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 393. Resolution providing for expenses of the select committee created by House Resolution 392; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. SMITH of Illinois:

H. Res. 394. Resolution to print certain documentary matter relating to the life and works of Abraham Lincoln; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. CANNON of Missouri:

H. Res. 395. Resolution to print the prayers of the Chaplain of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. FISH:

H. Res. 396. Resolution making House Joint Resolution 408 a joint resolution providing for a national referendum before drafting citizens and aliens for military service outside of the Western Hemisphere or the Territorial possessions of the United States, a special order of business; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their senate joint resolution No. 5, relative to House bill 7372, relating to Federal control of oil and gas production in California; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 8616. A bill granting a pension to Dora Mae Brinkley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 8617. A bill to extend the emergency officers' retirement benefits to Edward G. Heckel, formerly colonel, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON:

H. R. 8618. A bill for the relief of Thomas S. Brading; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FLAHERTY:

H. R. 8632. A bill for the relief of Michael J. Twohey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GAMBLE:

H. R. 8633. A bill granting a pension to Fannie J. Mann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GARRETT:

H. R. 8634. A bill for the relief of Mollie S. McHaney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KUNKEL:

H. R. 8635. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Melching; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 8636. A bill granting an increase of pension to Florence C. Woods; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITE of Idaho:

H. R. 8637. A bill for the relief of William Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1940

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We rejoice, our heavenly Father, that in all this universe of starry splendors and unthinkable immensities we cannot fall out of the hands of a good God. Death may threaten, and the dearest pass through the shadow of the valley, but these are the prelude to a deeper joy to come. We praise Thee that here is life's abiding rest and ultimate wonder and the secret of those chimes that forever ring in the dome of the immortal soul. Help us to ever pray "Thy will be done," not only in the acceptance of pain and bereavement, but in the chill of doubt and in the crisis of perplexity when the task of faith is so difficult. Thy will be done in the roar of the world with its ceaseless strife and in the whirl and din of its commercial life. When patriotism glows fervently and national aspirations are strong, O help us to pray the mighty prayer: "Thy will be done." In the name of our Elder Brother, Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6505) entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States,' approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto."

The message also announced that the Senate requests the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (S. 2103) entitled "An act to exempt certain Indians and Indian tribes from the provisions of the act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended."

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. NEELY, of West Virginia, Mr. BARKLEY, of Kentucky, and Mr. McNARY, of Oregon, as members on the part of the Senate of the Joint Committee on Arrangements for the Inauguration of the President-elect of the United States on January 20, 1941, pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 32, Seventy-sixth Congress.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITH THE UNITED STATES

Mr. COX, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following resolution (Rept. No. 1664), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

House Resolution 388

Resolved, That immediately upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of H. R. 6324, a bill to provide for the more expeditious